

Everyone knows Kant's famous confession of his ever-increasing wonder at the starry heavens above and the moral law within. The conviction that society rests on moral and spiritual foundations was shared by Burke, the greatest of English political thinkers, who described the state as a partnership in all art, in all science, in all perfection. And Mill based the most moving plea for individual liberty ever written on his lofty reading of the character and potentialities of man. Democracy is more than a type of government, and what is called pacifism is more than a mere theory of international relations. Both are the expression of faith in the ultimate sanity of the common man, in his power to learn from experience, in his capacity for spiritual growth.

I share this faith. Despite the number and the eminence of his disciples, I believe that Machiavelli is unfair to mankind. The professed realist only saw a limited portion of the vast field of experience. The will to power is not the sole key to human nature. History is assuredly a record of strife—the strife of arms and wits ; but it is also, as Kropotkin reminded us in an illuminating work, a story of mutual aid. Noble aims in plenty have been formed by men and nations, and many of them have been wholly or partially achieved. With a longer and a wider experience than Machiavelli, we have learned to recognize the solid core of truth in the old adage that honesty is the best policy. The application of the maxims of *The Prince* may achieve a temporary triumph, but they provide no foundation for the enduring happiness, prosperity or security of a state. If man were, indeed the unruly and perfidious animal that he believes, *The Prince* might be accepted as a recipe for making the best of a bad job. But the broad testimony of modern history suggests that the average man rises above this

level. Our sixteenth-century instructor makes
no allowance
for growth; the idea of progress is the
creation of modern
times, above all of the eighteenth century.
Froude used to
say that history is like a child's box of letters,
with which you
can spell any -word you choose. What
Machiavelli saw was
real enough, and he was a careful student of
history as well;
but in (Concentrating his gaze on the practice of
governments,
he paid too little attention to other aspects of
the life of the
community. Brilliant intellects like Machiavelli
and Hobbes,
Voltaire and Marx have seen certain phenomena
with extra-
ordinary distinctness" and emphasized their
immense signi-
ficance, yet vast tracts of human experience lie
beyond their